FISHER-FOLK AND FISH-TRAPS IN AL-BAḤRAIN

By R. B. SERJEANT

(PLATE I)

For assistance in every kind of way to obtain the information presented here I am indebted to Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh Āl Khalīfah, and particularly for introducing me to his friend the *nawkhudhā* 'Abdullāh b. Khamīs al-Shurūqī of al-Ḥidd village, situated on the south-east tip of al-Muḥarraq island, the northern island of the Baḥrain group. Al-Shurūqī entertained us to a *fuwālih* and took us carefully over his *ḥaḍrah*, explaining the technicalities involved in siting it, etc. The aerial photographs reproduced here were made available through the kindness of the station commander Group Captain Sanderson, R.A.F., and through the exertions of Flight-Lieutenant W. T. Wenham and his staff. I am also indebted to Eric and Beverley Fitzsimmons of the British Council for help in this and other matters.

In most parts of Arabia, as on the western bank of the Red Sea also, fishing is a despised occupation, and has been so from remote times. Al-Jāḥiẓ [1] in the early 'Abbāsid period alludes to the ' low ' nature of the fisherman's profession as people considered it in Baṣrah and Ubullah, but in al-Baḥrain to-day, on the contrary, no such sentiment obtains.

The marked social cleavage comes between the Arabs of tribal descent in al-Baḥrain and the Shī'ah Baḥārnah of the islands, as also of course of the area once included in al-Baḥrain on the mainland, Qaṭīf and al-Ḥasā'/al-Aḥsā'. These latter were considered inferior to the tribal element, and despite the improvement in their condition commented upon by Belgrave [2] bitter remarks against the Sunnīs may still occasionally be heard, just as indeed, one finds in the *Dīwān* of al-Karkhī [3] a sense of grievance among the Shī'ah Mi'dān of southern Iraq. Al-Shurūqī stated that people of noble birth were called Bin Ajwād or Ajwadī, or *qabīlī*, i.e. tribal—a usage not only identical with S. M. Salīm's [4] *Ajāwīd* of the Iraqi marshes, but with the *ajwād mujjād* of al-Jāḥiẓ.[5] Al-Shurūqī said, however, that one speaks of *al-ghanī wa 'l-ḍa'īf* in the sense of ' rich and poor ', while the equivalent of the south-west Arabian modern and classical *ḍa'īf* class is the Baisar (pl. Bayāsir) group. Jalāl al-Ḥanafī [6] reports Baisar as Kuwaitī usage for *man lā aṣl lahu*, persons of low class, and considers

[1] Dr Wadī'ah Najm has supplied this reference to a passage, not apparently in the printed text of Ṭaha al-Ḥājirī, from a MS. Cf. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Bukhalā'*, Baghdad, 1964, 186.

[2] Sir Charles Belgrave, *Personal column*, London, 1960, 100.

[3] *Dīwān al-Karkhī* (i.e. 'Abbūd al-Karkhī), ed. Ḥusain Ḥātim al-Karkhī, Baghdad, 1956, in the poem entitled *al-Majrashah*.

[4] *Marsh dwellers of the Euphrates Delta*, London, 1962, 76.

[5] *Al-Bukhalā'*, ed. Ṭaha al-Ḥājirī, Cairo, 1948, 144.

[6] *Mu'jam al-alfāẓ al-Kuwaitīyah*, Baghdad, 1964, 56.

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the word to be Persian, but it is current in the Trucial States and Oman where it is an ancient term.[7]

In al-Baḥrain it is no *'aib* (disgrace or impugnment of honour) certainly, to be a *ṭawwāsh*, pearl-merchant and buyer-cum-financier—in fact he is accounted the most honourable (*ashraf*) of a respected group comprising the *ghawwāṣ*, i.e. anyone engaged in the pearling industry, a class to which the *nawkhudhā*, captain of a pearling outfit, belongs as well as the fisherman (*ṣaiyād samak*). Of course, said the *nawkhudhā* al-Shurūqī, if you happen to be of low origin (*aṣl-ak dānī*) then you are of low origin, but fishing in no way demeans you, and it is no *'aib* to engage in fishing or to sell fish. On the other hand, there was and *is* no marriage between the tribes and people of other classes who practise the types of profession or craft detailed below. Even if these persons should be extremely wealthy the tribesmen would not give them their daughters in marriage—this being the criterion of social standing in all parts of Arabia that I know.

In al-Baḥrain 60 years ago, said al-Shurūqī, it was an *'aib* to open a shop (*dukkān*), to be a tailor (*dirzī*), barber (*muḥassin*), carpenter (*najjār*, pl. *najājīr*), butcher (*jazzār*), to engage in agricultural work, or even to work in an office, to wear a coat or a sleeveless jacket [8] (*ṣudairīyah*) over the coat. Now (1963) all this has gone, he said. Nevertheless it is still *'aib* for an Arab in al-Baḥrain, even if he be poor, to carry hens or eggs, or to sell them, though Arabs seem to eat them without repugnance.[9] The 'Ajam, Persians, I was told, do deal in hens, eggs, and the like. This taboo is the legacy, in my view—based upon the literature of Arabic and upon field-work—of the sentiment of tribes-folk (not necessarily migrating Bedouin) that poultry and their products are unclean, perhaps only to be eaten by the *ḥaḍar*.

When at variance, the Baisar group, and the *baḥāḥīr* (sing. *baḥḥār*), i.e. sea-faring folk, take their cases for decision to a respected tribesman who acts as conciliator (*muṣliḥ*) between them. If unsuccessful in reaching an agreement they repair to the court (*maḥkamah*), but as a court case costs money, whereas the *muṣliḥ* charges nothing, and since the court imposes a decision whereas the view of the *muṣliḥ* which they seek is accepted by *consent* of the two parties, it has a greater appeal to them as a means of settling disputes. In fact it is said that not only does the *muṣliḥ* receive no fee, but he has to produce a *fuwālih*, a tray (*ṣīnīyah*, also known as *qudū'*), upon which are set fruits, sweets, and biscuits, and he entertains the parties to the dispute with coffee, so that to act

[7] Bertram Thomas, *Arabia Felix*, London, 1938, 12; al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden, 1884–91, 52, and *al-Iklīl erstes Buch*, ed. O. Löfgren, Uppsala, 1965, II, 74, who describes them as the ancient inhabitants of Raisūt (pl. al-Bayāsirah). In *Alarms and excursions in Arabia*, London, 1931, 152, Thomas describes those in Oman as half-caste and fair-skinned. Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasā'il*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo, 1964, II, 298, and *Ḥayawān*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo, 1938–45, I, 311–12, mentions a type of poultry ' between al-Baiḍā' (white type) and al-Sindī ' known as Baisarī.

[8] Al-Ḥanafī, op. cit., 216, says it is worn by the *kandarī* or water-carrier. Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz spells it *sidairī* (with *sīn*), pl. *sidairīyah*, from *sidar/sadur* ' chest '.

[9] cf. my remarks on the Arab attitude to poultry in *BSOAS*, XXIV, 1, 1961, 144.

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in this capacity costs him money. As al-Shurūqī said to me, ' We apportion [10] in inheritance (*irth*) cases, partnership in houses, and other types of case '. In the court at al-Baḥrain then newly formed, Belgrave [11] reports that in the very numerous cases of boundaries, fish-traps, and water rights the court used to appoint an arbitrator and each of the parties a representative. As the *nawkhudhā* described it, the *maḥkamah* selects two men, the *mudda'ī* two men, and the *mudda'ā 'alaih* two men to form a committee (*lajnah*) to resolve their dispute. These men are *baḥāḥīr* and the *baḥāḥīr* in general are drawn from all classes in al-Baḥrain. According to Belgrave, because of the kudos gained as mediators, busy men used to be glad to give time to help the court, though this involved very often visits to distant fish-traps, but nowadays they are less willing to undertake such duties.

The Shī'ah of al-Baḥrain, called al-Baḥārnah, form about half the population, and, as remarked, are regarded as a class inferior to the Arabs. It has been supposed, though proof is not yet forthcoming, that they are descended from converts from the original population of Christians (Aramaeans ?), Jews, and Majūs inhabiting the island and cultivated coastal provinces of eastern Arabia at the time of the Arab conquest. The Arabs of al-Baḥrain are conscious of the distinct dialect of the Baḥārnah, and of such peculiarities in their names as the diminutive forms 'Alwawh for 'Alī, Khalfawh for Khalīfah, 'Abdawh and Ḥamdawh (عَلْوَوْه، خَلْفَوْه عَبْدَوْه حَمْدَوْه), etc. In the latter half of the seventh/thirteenth century Ibn al-Mujāwir [12] reports that the island (here called Uwāl) contains 360 villages, all Imāmī (i.e. Shī'ī) in *madhhab* except one, their diet being dates and fish. It may be significant that like the ancient Jews they have taboos regarding the eating of certain categories of fish. ' Anything which has not got scales is prohibited ' (*kull shī mā fīh ṣafad* [13] *ḥarām*). So they do not eat crab (*saraṭān*), shark (*jarjūr*), the *kim* (كِم *chimm* ?), resembling the *kan'ad*, which is stupid and blind (*balīd wa-a'mā*), or the octopus (*khaththūq*) which changes colour according to the colour of the ground (*yitlawwan bi-lawn al-arḍ*), but the *khaththūq* is used as bait (*ṭi'im*) for fish. They do not eat turtles, known as *sulḥāfah* and *ḥamasah* (pl. *ḥamas*), but they do appear to eat the *rūbiyān* [14] or prawn. Confirming that the Shī'ah will not touch shark's flesh, Lorimer [15] adds that it is eaten by the Arabs who consider it to have aphrodisiac properties—in fact Sunnīs appear to eat all the above-mentioned

[10] *Naqsim*, v.n. *qismah*.

[11] op. cit., 33.

[12] *Descriptio Arabiae meridionalis . . . Ta'rīḫ al-mustabṣir*, ed. O. Löfgren, Leiden, 1951–4, 301. Cf. Ibn Mājid, in G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques*, Paris, 1921–8, I, 69b, who says the population consists of Arab tribes (*qabā'il min al-'Arab*), and a number of merchants—perhaps by the latter the Baḥārnah are intended.

[13] *Ṣafad* is explained as *fulūs* ' scales '.

[14] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo ed., I, 297, IV, 102, VI, 79, *irbiyān* (sing. *ah*). In Aden it is still called *rūbiyān* (crawfish *Panulirus* spp.).

[15] J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, 'Omān and central Arabia*, Calcutta, 1908 and 1915, 2308. Cf. Appendix E, ' Fisheries of the Persian Gulf ', for some notes on *ḥadrahs*, 2316.

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fish. Nobody in the Gulf, however, eats oysters.[16] For the Baḥārnah the Christian is unclean (*al-Naṣrānī nijis*) and hence they break the coffee-cup from which a Christian has drunk, as Belgrave describes.[17]

While the Baḥārnah, in respect of these fish-taboos, appear to be following normal Shī'ah law, it is to be recalled that southern Iraq was the very cradle of Shī'ism and that taboos local to the Gulf may have become incorporated into the sect's legal system, though deriving ultimately from non-Muslim custom going back to a remote age.

To the posterity of the Prophet the Shī'ah give, theoretically at least, the *khums yad* in accordance with the Qur'anic verse (VIII, 42), *Wa-'lamū anna-mā ghanimtum min shai'in fa-anna lillāhi khumusa-hu wa-li 'l-rasūli wa-li-dhi 'l-qurbā wa 'l-yatāmā* . . . . Shī'īs (not in this case Baḥrain Shī'ah) inform me that the 'fifth' would only be paid to those of the Prophet's descendants engaged in some religious office, and the 'fifth' which is subscribed by the members of the sect is used for general welfare purposes as required by the latter part of the Qur'anic verse, that which goes *lillāh* being meant for the poor, whereas *al-qurbā* they interpret as the Prophet's house.[18] It may be for reason of this that the Shī'ah Waqf Department in al-Baḥrain holds a sizeable number of properties, including fish-traps.

Fish-traps in al-Baḥrain

The long shallow shore waters of the Persian–Arabian Gulf, with sandy beaches extending distances of a mile or two under the sea before meeting deeper water, are specially suited for the catching of fish in permanent fish-traps (*ḥadrah*), or tidal weirs as they have been described, such as may be seen all the way from Iraq along the Arabian coast. At high tide these traps are largely submerged, but as the water recedes the fish are left stranded within their fences. These fish-traps are not found, for example, on the South Arabian coasts, from Perim to al-Maṣna'ah on the borders of Mahrah territory, to my certain knowledge, for there are few beaches there like those so general to the Gulf. Nor can I report having seen them during flights over the Yemenite coast. Possibly weather conditions also are unfavourable, for Val T. Hinds [19]

[16] Belgrave, op. cit., 47.

[17] ibid., 56.

[18] This Shī'ah tradition may have its roots in ancient Arabian practice. For the entitlement of the Hāshimites to the *khums* through their kinship with the Prophet, cf. the traditions assembled by Abū 'Ubaidah, *Kitāb al-amwāl*, Cairo, n.d., 332 f., and Qudāmah b. Ja'far in A. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam*, II, Leiden, 1965, 51–2, unfortunately very incorrectly translated at this point. The methods by which the revenues of certain shrines of saints in the tribal districts of South Yemen are disposed of to-day seem to be closely analogous to the Shī'ah traditional view on the treatment of the *khums*. Cf. al-Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī* (ed. Marsden Jones), OUP, 1966, II, 693 f.

For historical data on local Shī'ah a useful source is the treatise of the well-known merchant and bookshop proprietor of al-Baḥrain Muḥammad 'Alī Tājir, *Kitāb muntaẓam al-durrain fī a'yān al-Qaṭīf wa 'l-Aḥsā' wa 'l-Baḥrain*, consisting of Sunnī and Shī'ah biographies, still in MS form. Cf. also 'Alī b. Ḥasan al-Bilādī al-Baḥrānī, *Anwār al-badrain fī tarājim 'ulamā' al-Qaṭīf wa 'l-Aḥsā' wa 'l-Baḥrain*, al-Najaf, 1960.

[19] *Impressions of a fishing industry—Dubai—Trucial States—Arabian Gulf*, report, July 1964, to the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Federal Government of South Arabia.

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has pointed out that they are rarely seen on the eastern section of the Trucial Coast where the north-westerly winds build up high waves during the rough weather period. On the other hand they are to be found along the East African coastal marine shelf near, for instance, Mombasa and Dar es Salaam. It may well be discovered that they were introduced there from Arabia which has so deeply imbued the coastal maritime and fishing peoples with its own culture that one finds practically all the parts of the African coasting dhow, and even some of the fish-names in Swahili are Arabian. The Swahili name for a fish-trap is, however, *jarife* (يرِيفه), pronounced in the Ḥaḍramī way, according to Hinds, a bottom set tangle-net, though the Ḥaḍramī *jarīf* is not a fish-trap, but a drag-net with two arms, operated from the shore, but it might be said to resemble the fish-trap in shape quite closely. It is puzzling to find a Ḥaḍramī name given by Swahilis to a fish-trap which I postulate may have reached Africa from the Gulf, though of course East African Muslim communities show evidence of far deeper cultural influence from Ḥaḍramawt than from Oman.

At a first glance the fish-trap (*ḥaḍrah/ḥazrah*) looks a simple enough affair, but one soon discovers that considerable expertise is required for siting and constructing it, and it must be concluded that these traps underwent a lengthy period of evolution before developing to their present shape. *Ḥaḍrahs* are subject to certain customary laws (only figuring incidentally here), they are heritable, can constitute a *waqf* property, and they are financed in their operation by methods very similar to those of share-cropping in agriculture.

Al-Ḥidd village

The village of al-Ḥidd lies on the south-east extremity of Muḥarraq island, the word *ḥidd* meaning a sand-spit. South of al-Ḥidd is the sweet water spring in the sea (*kawkab*, pl. *kawākib*) [20] known as Umm al-Sawālī. The spring or springs are so called because there they wash out the *sawālī* (sing. *sāliyah*, a landing-net with two sticks used as handles).[21] There are other sea-springs around the coasts of al-Muḥarraq as is well known, such as Yizīrat/Jazīrat il-Sāyih. A mile or so to the south of Umm al-Sawālī is al-Qaṣāṣīr.[22] A *qaṣṣār* was described to me as a rock in the sea (*ṣakhrah fi 'l-baḥr*) which at high tide looks like a castle. Ibn Mājid [23] says of al-Baḥrain, ' The most astonishing thing in it is a place called al-Qaṣāṣīr. A man dives into the salt sea with a water-skin [24] and fills it with sweet water while he is submerged (*gharqān*) '.[25]

[20] *Bahrain Trade Directory*, 1383/1963, 114.

[21] Jalāl al-Ḥanafī, op. cit., 167 cites this word but in the sense of a net, as also in Qaṭar (Dr. T. M. Johnstone). Cf. I. MacIvor, ' Notes on sea-fishing in the Persian Gulf ', *Administrative Report of the Persian Gulf Political Residency and Muscat Political Agency* for 1880–1, 55, where it is described as a circular cast-net with lead weights round the circumference.

[22] cf. Ibn Mājid, loc. cit., and George Rentz, ' Pearling in the Persian Gulf ', in W. J. Fischel (ed.), *Semitic and Oriental studies : a volume presented to William Popper* (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, XI), Berkeley, 1951, 402.

[23] loc. cit.

[24] According to the *Bahrain Trade Directory*, 114, the large water-skin in which the pearling dhows used to take water from these sea-springs was called *farzih*.

[25] C. de Landberg, *Glossaire daṭînois*, Leiden, 1920–42, *gharqān* ' noyé '.

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The village appears to be largely concerned with the fishing industry, gear for which lies about the sea-front. Just north of al-Shurūqī's *ḥaḍrah* can be seen (plate 1) a flat sanded rectangular platform on the sea-front with a low wall, where the fishermen sit outside in the evenings. It is called *barāḥah* a word also in use for a town square in al-Ḥasā'.[26] Al-Muḥarraq, of which al-Ḥidd is a part, has somewhat of a reputation for turbulence, and it was so during the political riots of the early spring of 1965 after which I last visited the island, but I do not know if al-Ḥidd was specifically involved.

The sea-front of al-Ḥidd faces due west, and the fish-traps run in a general westerly direction from the shore. They lie within *al-baṭīn*,[27] the side of al-Muḥarraq sheltered from the *Shimāl* wind, not *al-ẓahr/ẓahar*, the side exposed to the full *Shimāl* gale which Dickson [28] describes as a north-west wind. The term *al-ẓahar* was explained to me as *maḍrab al-mawj*, *maḍrab al-rīḥ*, the place where the wind and waves strike. Of course the *Shimāl/Shamāl* blowing over al-Muḥarraq would, to judge from plate 1, blow into the long arm of the *ḥaḍrahs*.

From the sand-spit known as al-Ḥidd, then, the beach running down from the village is *al-barr*, turning into a flat sandy area which at low tide (*thabur*) [29] is uncovered, but at high tide (*sajī* = *saqī*) is under water. Upon this latter part of the beach, known as *al-baṭḥ*, grows both *mash'ūrah* [30] seaweed, and *chinn/kinn* which is a seaweed rather like a light green wool. The fish feed on the *chinn* which is collected also for use as bait. The long stringy *mash'ūrah* is employed as bait for the shark (*jarjūr*).

The ḥaḍrah of 'Abdullāh b. Khamīs al-Shurūqī at al-Ḥidd

The siting of the *ḥaḍrah* and its shape are determined by the nature of the terrain. Al-Shurūqī's *ḥaḍrah* (fig. 1), called Ibzūr, may be described as open to the north and bounded on the east by the shore of al-Ḥidd. The whole is constructed of palm-*jarīds* from the palm plantations of al-Baḥrain, the only suitable material locally available. The long arm (*al-madd*, pl. *mudūd*) extends up to the land (*al-barr*), running roughly from east to west. The other short

[26] F. S. Vidal, *The oasis of al-Hasa*, Dhahran (?), 1955, 215. In Ḥaḍramawt *barāḥ* means a breeze, and at al-Shiḥr a *mibraḥ* is a space upon which pebbles have been laid, used for drying fish.

[27] *Baṭīn* or *baṭn* and *ẓahr* are widely used in the Persian Gulf and Arabian coasts in general in this sense, as may be perceived by a study of such authors on navigation as Ibn Mājid and 'Īsā al-Quṭāmī, *Dalīl al-muḥtār fī 'ilm al-biḥār*, third ed., Kuwait, 1383/1964, *passim*. I have noted also that *baṭn al-shirā'* is the inside of a sail which the wind is filling, and the outside is the *ẓahr*.

[28] H. R. P. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*, London, 1949, 248.

[29] One says, *al-baḥr thābir* ' the tide is receding '. The verb is *thabara*. Cf. al-Quṭāmī, op. cit., 247 ; al-Ḥanafī, op. cit., 68. Vidal, op. cit., 216, gives *thabr* as a gathering canal in irrigation at al-Ḥasā'.

[30] *Mash'ūrah* is a seaweed growing in long strands which contains at best only a few fish. Sometimes the *lazzāq* fish is found in it. The *lazzāq* was described as like the *kan'ad* (*sīr*/seer fish, *Cybium guttatum*) but with a head like the heel of a shoe which sticks to the deck—presumably a sort of sucker ?

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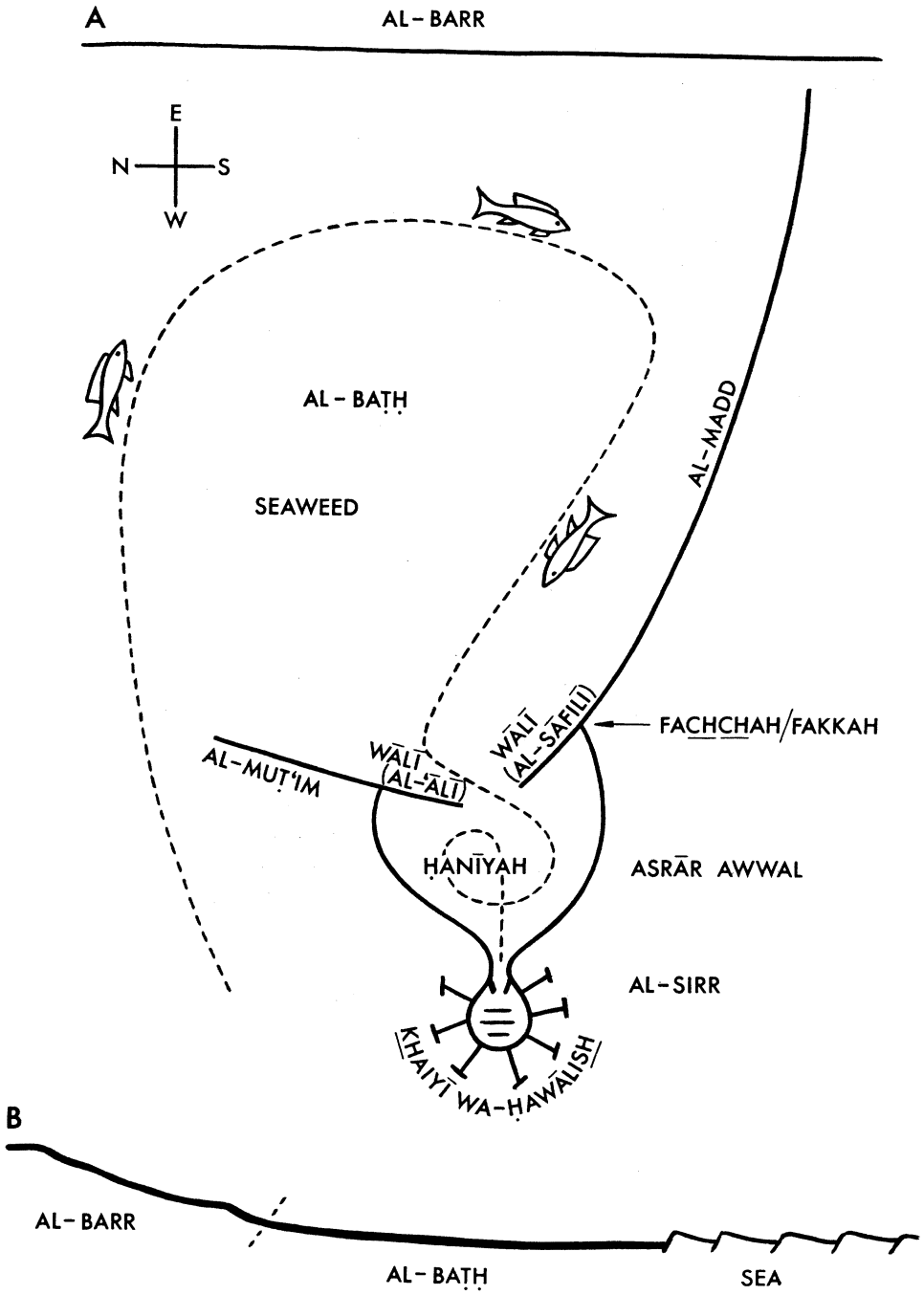

Fig. 1. Plan of Ibzūr fish-trap.

A. The dotted line indicates the movement of the fish feeding upon the seaweed of the flat sea-bed uncovered at low tide. Water and wind (*al-hawā*) bring them to the *madd* arm. There is dust on the water because of the wind. The *madd* arm causes them to change direction, and as the tide ebbs they are diverted by stages from one point to another, until, perforce (*bi 'l-jabar*) they enter the final *sirr* chamber, the opening into which is very narrow.

B. Profile of the shore to show the parts known as *al-barr* and *al-baṭḥ*.

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(*qaṣīr*) arm called *al-muṭ'im* runs approximately north to south. These arms are linked by another fence enclosing a space called *al-ḥanīyah* ' the curved area ', and the parts of the arms *madd* and *muṭ'im* forming the top of the *ḥanīyah* section on the east side are known as *wālī* (pl. *awlayā*), distinguished in the case of this particular *ḥaḍrah* by the specific epithets *al-sāfilī* ' the southern ' and *al-'ālī* ' the northern '.[31] There appears to be a sort of join of the *madd* arm and the fence of the *ḥanīyah* known as *fachchah* (*fakkah* ' jaw ' ?). The fence enclosing the *ḥanīyah* area was named to me as *asrār awwal*, and the actual chamber within which the fish are trapped is *al-sirr*. On the outside the *sirr* is held in position and strengthened by guy-ropes (*khaiyah*, pl. *khaiyī*) attached to pegs (*ḥālish*, pl. *ḥawālish*) stuck in the flat ground of the area *al-baṭḥ*. On the inside ropes run from one side to the other of the *sirr* as shown in fig. 1, known as *ṣuwar* (pl. *ṣuwārah*) [32] *al-ḥaḍrah*, a term also used for the beams running from side to side of a dhow and bearing the deck. Upon one of these is hung the gear (*mā'ūn*), i.e. the fish-gaff and the basket in which the fish are collected. The fish are taken out of the *sirr* by hand, with the *sāliyah* [33] a kind of landing-net rather like a large string shopping bag with two wooden spars at the top. It is used in the manner of a scoop, the top being drawn together but not very closely. The fish are then taken out of the *sāliyah* and placed in a *jirāb*, a bag made of palm-leaf (*khūṣ*). These bags are carried away on a pole borne over the shoulders.

The height of the fence of the Ibzūr *ḥaḍrah* is about 9 feet, and the *jarīds* are linked together by a horizontal tie near the top also made of *jarīds* and known as *shidād*, those below it, four in all, being made of rope (*ḥabl*). The two drawings (figs. 2 and 3) illustrate a sort of ornamental tuft of coir (*qumbār*) at the top of the poles of the point of the *ḥaḍrah*, which I had not specially noted myself, known as the *kadīl* (pl. of *kidlih*) and so called because they are thought to resemble the Baḥrainī girl's fringe of hair over her forehead (fig. 4). In places where there is rock near the surface of the ground of the fish-trap so that *jarīds* cannot be fixed simply by planting them firmly in the sand, the arms have sometimes to be built of rock instead.

Construction of the ḥaḍrah

The *ḥaḍrah* (pl. *ḥuḍūr*) or *ḥaẓrah* [34] as, according to the canons of Classical Arabic, it would be more correctly spelled, is to be connected with such purely

[31] cf. my *Portuguese off the South Arabian coast*, Oxford, 1963, 195 *passim*. In al-Baḥrain one says, *Fulān 'ālī 'annā* ' So-and-so is north of us ' and *Nās 'allaw* (*yi'allī*) ' People who have gone northwards '. To go southwards is *dabbar*, and the south is *al-sāfil*.

[32] T. M. Johnstone and J. Muir, ' Some nautical terms in the Kuwaiti dialect of Arabic ', *BSOAS*, XXVII, 2, 1964, spell this with *sīn*, but cite Lorimer's spelling with *ṣād*. For al-Baḥrain my own observation was probably checked with al-Shurūqī at the time, but I have noted from south-west Arabia that the distinction between these two letters is often unclear. One says of a ship, *ṣuwar al-maḥmal*. The word *maḥmal* itself in the sense of a vessel, ship, was linked by my informant with Qur'ān XVII, 72. لَقَدْ كَرَّمْنَا بَنِي آدَمَ وَحَمَلْنَاهُمْ فِي الْبَرِّ وَالْبَحْرِ.

[33] cf. p. 490.

[34] T. M. Johnstone has recorded a plural *ḥẓār* for al-Baḥrain. Cf. al-Ḥanafī, op. cit., 96.

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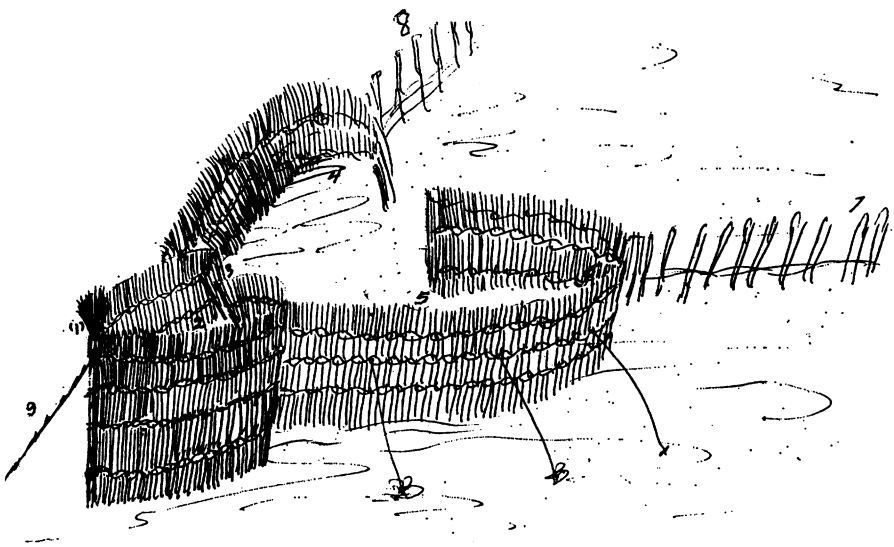
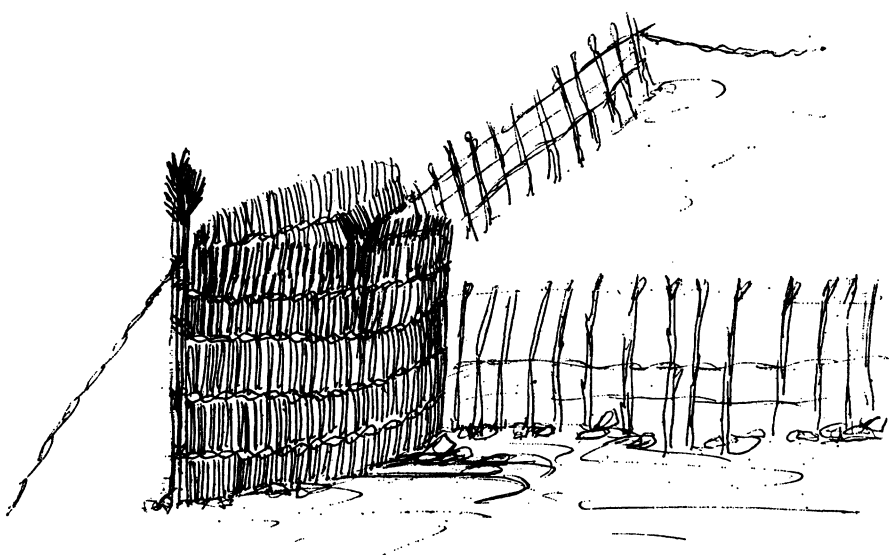


[*By courtesy of Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz Āl Khalīfah*

FIG. 2. Sketch of fish-trap.

1. The *kadīl* (sing. *kidlih/kidlah*) like a girl's fringe ; cf. fig. 4.
2. *Sirr/sir*.
3. *Sirr/sir awwal*, the opening.
4, 5. *Ḥanīyah* (pl. *ḥanāyā*) curved arm.
6. *Maqran*, the corner of the *ḥanāyā*.
7. *Madd* arm, longer than shown in sketch.
8. *Muṭ'im/miṭ'im* arm, about half the length of the *madd*.
9. *Khīyih/khaiyah* (pl. *khaiyī*), guy-ropes.



[*By courtesy of Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz Āl Khalīfah*

FIG. 3. Sketch of Sitrah type of fish-trap showing the *kadīl* and the cable known as *mijdab/mijdhab* used to anchor the *madd* arm.

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[*By courtesy of Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz Āl Khalīfah*

FIG. 4. Baḥrainī girl of Sitrah with a fringe (*kidlih*).

agricultural terms as *ḥiḍār*, a fence of palm-*sa'f* and *jarīd*, *taḥḍīr* being the action of constructing such a fence, which I noted from documents in the Shī'ah Waqf Department.[35]

Ḥaḍrahs are constructed by experts—the *bannā'ī al-ḥaḍrah*, or fish-trap builder. There is a sort of foreman (*ustādh*) of the builders who receives a wage of 25 rupees (1963) at each water (*kull māyah*), i.e. every low tide that he works, at which time alone can he carry on the construction of the trap, the site being left exposed. The rest of the trap builders receive 12 rupees a time. The various parts of the *ḥaḍrah* are built according to careful measurement, the *bannā'ī* building according to a measure (*yibnī bi 'l-miqyās*). The materials employed are palm-sticks (*jarīd al-nakhīl*) stripped of their leaf (*sa'f*), and rope (*ḥabl*) of coir, coco-nut fibre (*qumbār*) or the fibre (*līf*) of the date-palm. Each year the *ḥaḍrah* must be re-made because barnacles (*al-naw*) grow on the *jarīds* and they become black—which frightens the fish so that they are scared (*yitwaḥḥash*). Al-Shurūqī's trap is reconstructed each autumn, the work taking about three days. It is, of course, the man who rents the *ḥaḍrah* who bears the expense of reconstructing it. The trap builder also receives *ruyūq* (i.e. *faṭūr*), breakfast, or *ghadā*, lunch, or perhaps both. Provision of a meal as part of a labourer's wages is also general custom in south-west Arabia.

In al-Baṣrah the *ḥaḍrah/ḥaẓrah*, there known as *gaṭ'ah/qaṭ'ah* or *mailān*, is made of *jarīds* and marsh-reed (*qaṣab*) which grows to a great size. In former

[35] Agricultural terms peculiar to the island occur in *Qānūn miyāh al-nakhīl*, al-Baḥrain, 1379/1960, which I am examining.

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times the Kuwait *ḥaḍrahs* were made of Iraqi reed or cane (*qaṣab*) [36] but now wire is used for them, just as it is used for fish-pots in many parts of the Gulf. Names for the traps differ from place to place (*al-asāmī alladhīn 'inda-hum ghair shakl*).

The pattern of the fish-traps shows considerable variation depending on the nature of the terrain, the currents, etc., but the basic features of their construction appear to be the same. The Sitrah type (figs. 3 and 5) does not contain

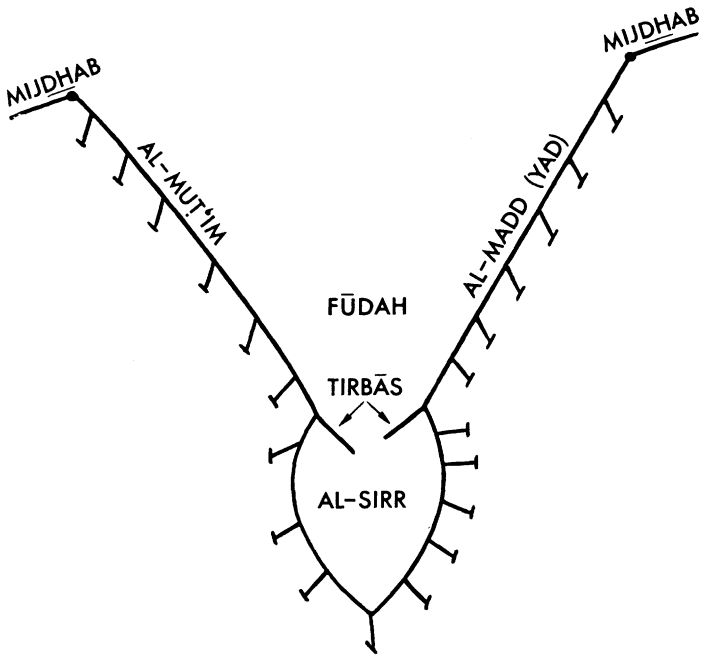

FIG. 5. Plan of fish-trap at Sitrah.

Additional technical terms are :
(1) the *fūdah*, the area enclosed by the *madd* and *muṭ'im/miṭ'im* arms ;
(2) *tirbās/ṭirbās* (*tarābīs/ṭarābīs*), the turned-in parts of the *ḥanāyā* between which lies the *sirr/sir awwal*.

the vestibules known as *ḥanāyā*, because the current is very strong there, but only the *sirr* and the two *madds*. The Kuwait Museum displays a diagram or model of a type of *ḥaẓrah* which I believe is also to be found in al-Baḥrain though I do not remember actually seeing it there. A long arm (*al-yad*) from the shore leads into the actual trap (fig. 7), but there is an entrance on each side of the *yad* to the enclosed antechamber (*ḥawsh*) to the *sirr* where the fish will be left stranded at low tide. The enclosing palisade of the trap is called *al-minshab* [37] (vocalization uncertain). A plan of this type sketched in al-Baḥrain is shown in fig. 6.

[36] Al-Ḥanafī, op. cit., 97. Quṭāmī, op. cit., 235, gives a photograph of the Kuwait form of *ḥaẓrah*.

[37] cf. al-Ḥanafī, op. cit., 365.

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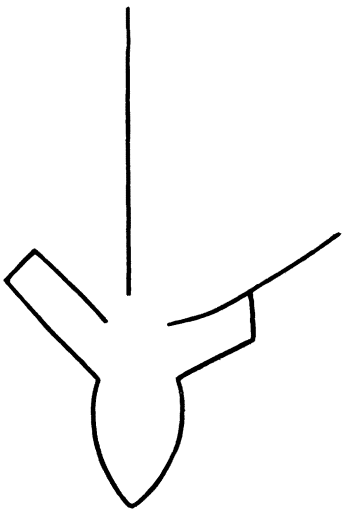

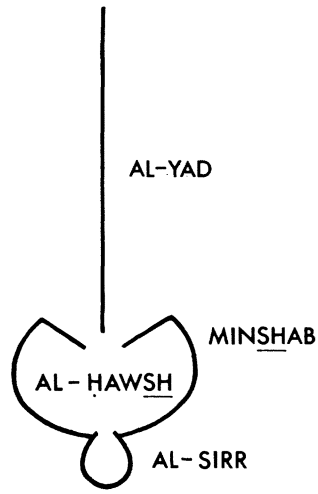

FIG. 6. Another pattern of *ḥaḍrah*.

FIG. 7. A Kuwait type of *ḥaḍrah*. The *minshab* is the enclosing palisade of *al-ḥawsh*.

This pattern is remarkably similar in appearance to the Malay *kelong* or off-shore palisade fish-traps at Singapore, though the Persian Gulf traps seem to be sited on tidal beaches only so far as I am aware. The Malay *penajur* corresponding to the Arabic *yad* 'runs at an angle to the current carefully determined by the *pawang* or *kelong* specialist'.[38] The chief difference between the two is that of materials, long poles being available in Malaya, so that the traps can be sited in much deeper water.

Deeds relating to the fish-trap Ibzūr at al-Ḥidd

'Abdullāh al-Shurūqī, in answer to my inquiry about property deeds relating to his *ḥaḍrah*, Ibzūr, brought me the documents to copy, in their little rusty iron cylinder in which they were kept for safety. The *ḥuḍūr*, he said, are *amlāk*, possessions, property. For Kuwait, Jalāl al-Ḥanafī[39] states, 'The fishermen owners of the *ḥuẓūr* have places off the coasts of al-Kuwait special to them, considered as their property (*milk*) in conformity with official deeds and documents. No person can put up a *ḥaẓrah* except on the coast which is owned by him'. Before accepting this statement as it stands I should like to see the documents of which he speaks, for I suspect the matter of ownership may be far less simple than he says.

The first of the deeds that follow is a plain declaration of ownership, the second a transfer from female heritors to a single male heritor, the third and most interesting, establishes the rights of the fish-trap owner to the unimpeded access of the fish to his trap. It would be possible to arrive at a code of customary law governing the operation of the traps by collecting such documents,

[38] *Straits Times Annual* (Singapore), 1966, 82–4, illus.
[39] op. cit., 97.

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but in all probability there are persons in the seaboard community regarded as experts, retaining in their memory the cases which form the necessary precedents.

The original spellings and grammar have been retained in all three documents, but the vocalization has been added.

Document 1

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بسم الله وحده وَلصَّلاة والسلام علا من لا نبىّ
بعده. وبعد اقول، وانا أُمْبارَك[40] بن سَيْف بن فَضالة، بان الحَضْرة المُسَمّاه
اِبْزُور[41] لعبد الله ولدى وعيال سيف ولدى، ولا عليهم تَتبّعَات[42] لاحد، وانا
مِسْتَارِثَتْها[43] أُمَّتِى من جدّى، وانا اِسْتَرَثْتُها من امى من سنة بن مذكور
سنة نَصُّور، شهد بذالك شيخ عثمان بن جامع، وشهد بذالك محمد بن عبد
الرحيم، وشهد بذالك عبد الحَىّ، وشهد بذالك على بن طَوْق، وشهد بذالك
أَرْحَمَه بن محمد بن فضالة، وشهد بذالك خَلَف[44] بن ثانى إن ما عليها
تَتْبِعَّات لاحد. ولله[45] خير شاهد، وَلّله على ما نقول وكيل، والفقير على
بن عبد الله
مطَّوع السَلَطَه شاهد
على منطوق[46] الورقه Seal-impression
سنه ١٢٧٣

' In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. In the name of God alone, with blessings and peace upon him after whom there is no prophet.

Herewith I, being Umbārak b. Saif b. Faḍālah, declare that the fish-trap (*ḥaḍrah*) called Ibzūr belongs to 'Abdullāh my son, and to the children of my son Saif, they not being subject to any (rights) pertaining to any other person. My mother obtained it by inheritance from my grandfather, and I have inherited it from my mother, from the year of Bin Madhkūr, the year of Naṣṣūr.

[40] Umbārak as elsewhere in Arabia is a popular form of Mubārak.

[41] A derivation suggested for Ibzūr is from *zūr*, i.e. *quwwah*, as in *akhadh-ah bi 'l-zūr* ' he took it by force '. The name seems to me non-Arabic but I can see no ready derivation from Persian.

[42] Explained as Class. Ar. *tatabbu'āt*, i.e. *mā ḥawlah ḥaqq 'inda-hum*, and, *mā ḥad yitba'-hum bi 'l-ḥaqq aw mu'āraḍah*. One says, *Al-būlīs tatabba' al-qaḍīyah*.

[43] *Mistārithah*, i.e. *ḥaṣṣalat bi 'l-irth*. Literally the text runs, ' and I, my mother inherited it '.

[44] Names like Khalaf and Khalfān mean 'Awaḍ (a name very common in south-west Arabia). *Thānī* means Monday, and other names for days of the week used as proper names are *Lihdān*, Sunday, *Rabī'ah*, Wednesday, *Khamīs*, Thursday, *Jum'ah*, Friday, *Sabt*, Saturday. Month-names used as proper names are Ramaḍān, Rajab, Sha'bān, 'Āshūr, and Ṣafar, though of course the last-named month is unlucky. In al-Baḥrain they consider Wednesday unlucky (*yitashā'amūn bi-yawm al-Arbi'ā'*), but they say, *Al-Rubū' li 'l-dawā* ' Wednesday is medicine day '. On it they take such medicines as *sanā Makkī*, also known as *'ishriq/'ishrij*.

[45] For *Wallāh*, the *alif* omitted as in *wal-ṣalāh*, *supra*.

[46] *Manṭūq*, explained as ' contents '.

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The shaikh 'Uthmān b. Jāmi' bears testimony to this, as do Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, 'Abd al-Ḥaiy, 'Alī b. Ṭawq, Arḥamah b. Muḥammad b. Faḍālah, and Khalaf b. Thānī, namely that it is not subject to (rights) belonging to any other person.

God is the best witness, and God is testimony to what we say, and the *faqīr* 'Alī b. 'Abdullāh the *muṭawwa'* of the Silaṭah is witness to what is stated in the document. Year 1273 (1856–7).'

Document 2

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الباعث لتحرير هذه الورقة هو انه قد حضر الرجل المكرّم راشد بن عمرو الفَضاله ورَضيعة[47] وَسبيكة بنت عمرو الفضاله، وشهدا شهادة ثابتة لله تعالى، بأن أمهما مريم بنتُ مُبارك ووخالتهما مَوْزه بنت سيف حضرا فى حال صحّتهما ورشادتهما، وباعا بيعاً صحيحاً شرعياً، بايجاب وقبول، حصّتهما من الحضرة الموروثة من أمهما المسمّات[47] فاطمة بنت مبارك، اعنى الحضرة الكاينة فى الحدّ فى ارض[48] المسمّات بالبَطين، اسمها إبْزُور، بثمن معلوم القدر — وذالك خمسة تَوَامين — على اخيهما مبارك بن سيف، والمشترى اشترى منهما، ومسلّم الثمن المذكور بيديهما بالتمام والكمال. فصارت الحضرة المحدودة المذكورة كلها ملكاً لمبارك بن سيف المذكور يتصرف فيها كسائر املاكه. جرا الاستشهاد الشرعى الثالث فى غرة ذى القعدة الحرام سنة ١٢٨٨.

نعم — صحيح راشد بن عمرو الفضاله

Seal-impression راشد بن عمرو بن سلطان الواثق بالرحمن

' In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

The occasion for recording this document in writing is that the honourable gentleman, Rāshid b. 'Amr al-Faḍālah appeared with (his) sister Sabīkah bint 'Amr al-Faḍālah, and the two (of them) bore true witness to God Exalted, that their mother, Miryam bint Mubārak,[49] and their maternal aunt, Mawzah [50]

[47] My notes suggest that the correct reading here is *wa-raḍī'atu-hu* ' and his sister '. One says, *Fulānah dhī raḍī'atī* ' So-and-so is my sister '. Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz informs me that a foster-sister is *ikhtī min al-riḍā'*.

[48] *Sic*, incorrectly, for *al-arḍ*. The *tā'* of *musammāt* is incorrect, here and previously, for *tā'* *marbūṭah*.

[49] Though these documents were checked over with al-Shurūqī with care, I am inclined to think that one should read ' Miryam bint Saif '. This would make the situation simple, but if it is correct to take the names as they stand, the only solution could be that Fāṭimah bint Mubārak married twice, firstly Saif by whom she had Mawzah, and later Mubārak by whom she had Miryam. This, however, seems to me a far less likely explanation than a simple error in transcription of the names.

[50] This lady is called ' Banana ' because the banana is nice ! Perhaps it might also be a reference to the colour of her skin though I made no inquiries on this point. In other parts of Arabia I have come across Mawzah as a slave-name. In al-Baḥrain it was said that one calls a slave a nice name for *tabarruk*, but this is common practice in general.

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bint Saif appeared, sound of health and adult, and sold by valid legal (*sharʿī*) sale, with assent and acceptance, their share of the fish-trap inherited from their mother, Fāṭimah bint Mubārak by name ; I mean the fish-trap at al-Ḥidd, on (the) ground known as al-Baṭīn,[51] which is called Ibzūr, for a price of a fixed amount, namely five *tūmāns*, to their brother Mubārak b. Saif. The purchaser has bought it from them, delivering the aforesaid price into their hands, entire and complete. The aforesaid demarcated fish-trap has become in its entirety property possessed by Mubārak b. Saif the afore-mentioned, to dispose of it as the rest of his properties.

The legal attestation (to the above) took place on the third (day) of the opening of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah al-Ḥarām of the year 1288 (14 January 1872).

Yes [52]—signature of Rāshid b. 'Amr al-Faḍālah
(seal).

Rāshid b. 'Amr b. Sulṭān, trusting in the Merciful.'

Document 3

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ثَبَتَ لَدَيَّ ما ذُكِرَ فى هذه الورقه وانا عيسى بن على آل خَليفه

Seal-impression

مُوجِبه[53] انه لما ان عبد الله بن يِلَيِّيل استحدث الحضرة التى فى بحر الحدّ من القِبْله من المكرّم المعظّم شيخنا الشيخ عيسى بن على آل خليفه، والحال[54] انها مُجانَبَة[55] لحضرة مبارك بن فضالة، وعلى مَجْرَى بحرها، اشتكى مبارك المذكور ضررها لحضرته. فتوسّط بينهما المكرم السيد عبد الله بن ابراهيم بالصلح، وطلب من المذكور إعدامها. فاعطاه ذلك وسمحت نفسه بتركها على ان يسلّم له مبارك ما أنفقه عليها، وتَبْقَى كما كانت اَرضا قبل ذلك، ولا يبنيها هو ولا غَيْرَه حتى لا يَخْفَى.[56]

حرّر فى ١٥ ربيع سنة ١٣٣٩ صحيح عبد الله جرى بحضرة
يشهد على ما حرر محمد يلييل عبد اللطيف
بن بيات Thumb-print بن محمود

Seal-impression

يشهد على ما حرر يشهد على هذه
محمد بن محمود خليفه بن حَبْتُور
Seal-impression Seal-impression

[51] Al-Baṭīn, cf. p. 491, n. 27, the sheltered side of al-Ḥidd.
[52] This seems to be a stereotyped formula in documents, as *Naʿam wa-ana fulān b. fulān.*
[53] Explained as *alladhī awjaba 'l-kitābah.*
[54] Explained as *al-ḥaqīqah.*
[55] So pronounced by al-Shurūqī.
[56] The last sentence seems to be in *sajʿ*.

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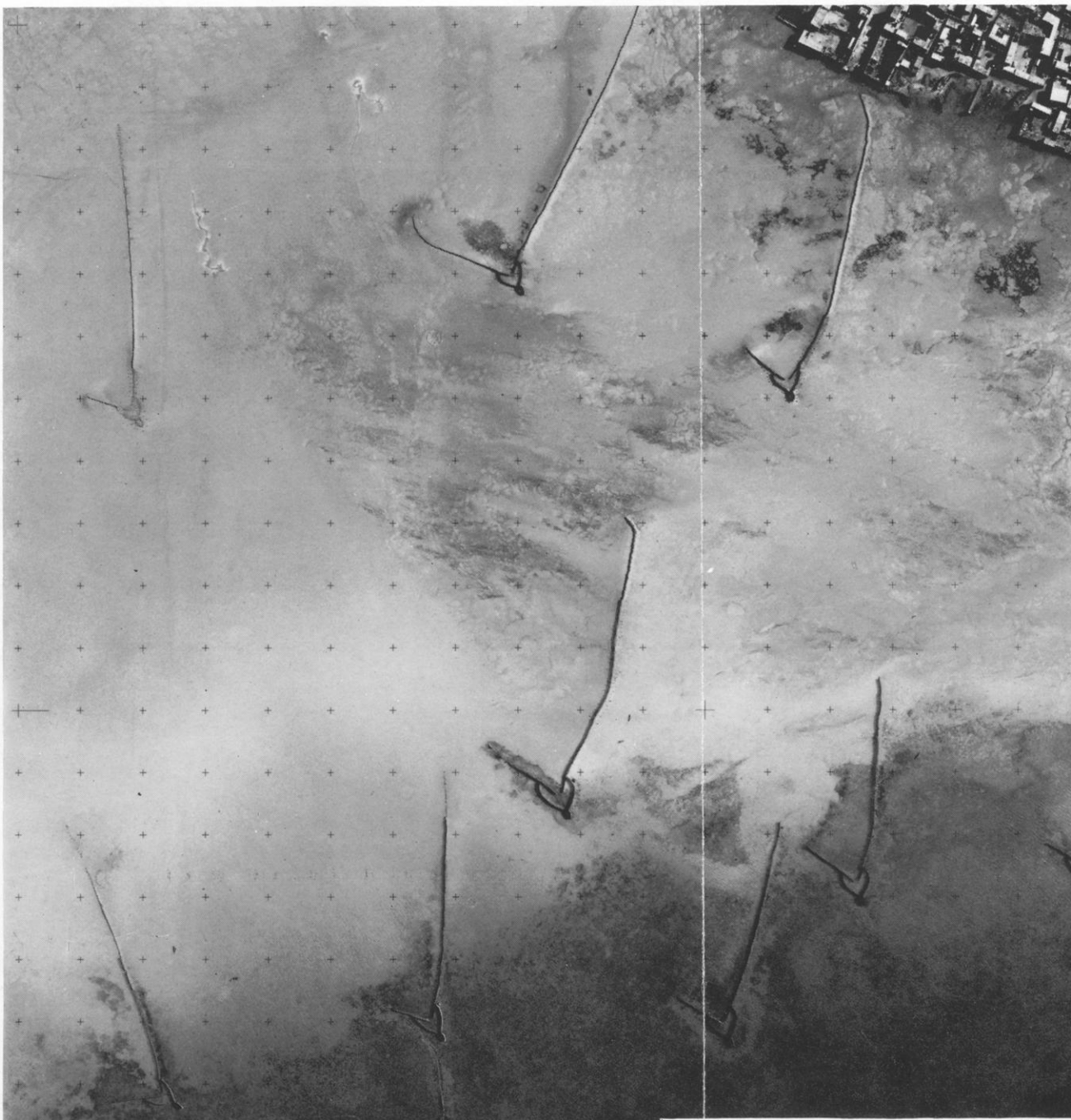

FISH-TRA

Al-Ḥidd village the shore of which faces
little above sea-level. In the *saṭwah* or sea-
western side of al-Ḥidd, lie the traps exte
directions taken by the tide as it recedes c
ebbs in a western, then a generally souther
round the southern tip of the peninsula wh
the shallows round al-Ḥidd.

Al-Shurūqī's fish-trap, Ibzūr, is indicate
other traps—al-Wusṭā ' the Middle (trap) ',

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FISH-TRAPS AT AL-ḤIDD

which faces westwards, is set on a peninsula, a flat sand-spit a
ah or sea-beach area pertaining to the village on the sheltered
raps extending from in front of the village westwards. The
recedes can be perceived from the siting of the traps, i.e. it
ly southern direction, but takes a sharp turn to the east and
ninsula where a deeper channel seems to have been scored in

is indicated by a white square. To the west of it lie the two
le (trap) ', and al-Baḥrīyah ' the Sea (trap) '.

E
N + S
W

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[*Courtesy Royal Air Force*

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جملة الدراهم التى سلمها مبارك
لعبد الله يليل ستماية ربيه وتسعين ربيه

' In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

That to which reference is made in this document is confirmed by me, I being 'Īsā (seal) b. 'Alī Āl Khalīfah.

The reason for it is that when 'Abdullāh b. Yilaiyīl introduced the fish-trap (sited) in the seaboard of al-Ḥidd to the west (side), (with the authority of ?) our Shaikh, the honourable and revered Shaikh 'Īsā b. 'Alī Āl Khalīfah[57]—the matter being that it lies alongside the fish-trap belonging to Mubārak b. Faḍālah, and in the course of the sea-tide (to and from) it—the said Mubārak preferred a plaint of the detriment it causes his own fish-trap.

The honourable Saiyid, 'Abdullāh b. Ibrāhīm mediated between them to (arrange) a settlement, and required the aforesaid ('Abdullāh b. Yilaiyīl) to remove it. So he conceded that to him, and assented to abandoning it on condition that Mubārak pay him what he had expended upon it. It (the fish-trap site) should then remain as it had been, (open) ground, before that, neither he nor anyone else to build (upon) it, so that (the decision) [58] should not be concealed (from people).

Recorded in writing on 15 Rabī' (I ?) 1339 (November–December 1920).

Muḥammad b. Biyāt bears testimony to what has been recorded.

Signature of 'Abdullāh Yilaiyīl (thumb-print)

This was effected in the presence of 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Maḥmūd (seal).

Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd bears testimony to what has been recorded (seal).

Khalīfah b. Ḥabtūr bears testimony to this (seal).

The total sum of money which Mubārak paid 'Abdullāh b. Yilaiyīl was 690 rupees.'

Commentary

Naṣṣūr, said al-Shurūqī, is the diminutive of Naṣr, and this Naṣr b. Madhkūr was the *ḥākim al-Baḥrain*, a sort of governor on behalf of the Shah (*wālī min qibal al-Shāh*). G. Rentz and W. E. Mulligan, in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, s.v. ' al-Baḥrayn ', say of the Persians that their ' instruments of policy were often chiefs of the Huwala [59] or other Arabs settled on the

[57] Shaikh 'Īsā b. 'Alī retired in 1923, but lived till 1932 (Belgrave, op. cit., 10 and 76).

[58] The Arabic was explained to mean—so that the *kalām* ' decision ' should not be concealed—but the phrase is obscure.

[59] Arabic هَوْلِى, pl. هْوِلَه (so 'Abd al-'Azīz), but in al-Ḥanafī, op. cit., 402, هْوَلَه. It is supposedly connected with the root *ḥ w l*, linked with the idea that they are immigrant Arabs. For these events cf., *inter alia*, Gholam-Reza Tadjbakhche, *La question des Îles Bahrein*, Paris, 1960, 43.

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Persian coast such as Djabbāra of Ṭāhirī and Nāṣir and Naṣr Āl Madhkūr of Būshahr in the 12th/18th century'. Naṣr Āl Madhkūr was expelled from al-Baḥrain by the Āl Khalīfah in 1197/1783; the expression 'the year of Naṣṣūr' probably refers to that date. So probably the Faḍālah family came into possession of the fish-trap with the conquest of the island by the Āl Khalīfah, supposing always that they did not already hold it at that time.

The second document shows how the shares inherited under Islamic law, by the women in the family, were sold back to their brother.

The third document has to be related to plate I, of al-Ḥidd village on al-Muḥarraq island where, as marked, are sited three traps in succession, running from east to west, called respectively Ibzūr, al-Wusṭā 'the Middle (trap)', and al-Baḥrīyah 'the Sea (trap)'. From the position of the traps it can be seen how the tide runs. Coming up from the south, the tide turns eastwards then southwards to meet the long arm (*al-madd*) of the three traps probably, as it recedes. It will be noticed that the *madd* of the trap called al-Baḥrīyah is only about one-third the length of that of Ibzūr. The tide slipping off the shallow sea-bed at the southern extremity of al-Ḥidd is strained through fish-traps sited in a different direction from those to the north, and presumably rushes into the deeper channel scoured round the south of the peninsula, to the traps facing a direction diametrically opposite from Ibzūr.

Now when al-Shurūqī was about 10 years old, another *ḥaḍrah* was set facing the northern approach to his family's fish-trap. This gave rise to a quarrel between the two parties, and 'Abdullāh b. Ibrāhīm, of a local family of al-Muḥarraq Saiyids, made peace between them (*aṣlaḥ baina-hum*).

The builder of the new *ḥaḍrah*, 'Abdullah b. Yilaiyīl (Julaiyīl) was by origin an Omani who had become a *nawkhuḍhā*, and, having made some money, he wished to build a *ḥaḍrah*, presumably in order to invest it. About a third of the inhabitants of al-Ḥidd are of Omani descent, but 'Abdullāh b. Yilaiyīl had emigrated there from Oman, and was therefore, relatively a new-comer. Probably he purchased from the Āl Khalīfah Shuyūkh—in the document the ruler Shaikh 'Īsā b. 'Alī—a licence (*ijāzah*) to set up the *ḥaḍrah*, or the Shaikh could make a gift of land for this purpose. In the case at issue there was clearly detriment (*ḍarar*) to the very much older *ḥaḍrah* already there, so the matter was settled by mediation and the new agreement endorsed by Shaikh 'Īsā himself. The compensation paid to 'Abdullāh b. Yilaiyīl, about £52, seems quite a considerable sum for that time.

In document 3 the signatories include the *qāḍī* 'Abd al-Laṭīf Maḥmūd and Ibn Ḥabtūr, merely an ordinary man, a tribesman (*wāḥid 'ādī, qabīlī*)—I have no information on the other witnesses. The witnesses to document 1 are all Arabs, the Banī Ṭawq being a tribe or section of the Faḍālah. The religious element, however, is represented in the *muṭawwa'* (plur. *maṭāwi'*) [60] who is the

[60] Al-Ḥanafī, op. cit., 353 discusses the *muṭawwa'* who is a teacher of boys in a Qur'ān school also. *Muṭawwa'* is further the name of a kind of fish. Al-Ḥanafī refers to Muṭawwa' al-'Amā'ir, the latter a Bedouin tribe. In al-Baḥrain one says *limṭawwa'* (pl. *il-miṭāw'ih*) according to Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz.

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imām al-masjid; some tribes even have a special *muṭawwa'* to themselves. The resentment (though coupled with acceptance) of the professional men of religion which one finds everywhere is expressed in popular lore by the following phrase which must be a sneer at religious hypocrisy, ما ظَنّتِى وَلَدِ ٱلْهَوَا يِدْخَل النار إلّا لِمْطَوَّع طايِح فى قَعَرْها 'I do not think the catamite [61] would enter Hell but the *muṭawwa'* falls into its very depths'.

Al-Shurūqī said al-Silaṭah should properly be spelled with *ṣād*, not *sīn*, the singular being Ṣulaiṭī/Ṣilaiṭī. A Ṣilaiṭī, he said, is a person able to set bones who practises popular medicine. These people would be *mutaṣalliṭīn 'ala 'l-'ūq* 'able to deal with the *'ūq*'. He described the *'ūq* [62] as a sort of illness preventing one from work. The Banī Murrah [63] are skilled in this, and amongst the Murrah one finds the Banī 'Arrāf, mostly in the south of Sa'ūdī Arabia. The verse of 'Urwah b. Ḥizām [64] in which he speaks of repairing to the 'Arrāf (skilled healer) of al-Yamāmah and the 'Arrāf of Ḥajr for the cure of a disease is celebrated. The Murrah used to neglect the observance of the *'iddah* in a woman divorced or widowed, and she would marry the next day. This not infrequently raised doubts as to a child's paternity—in such case the child would be taken to the Banī 'Arrāf who are able to distinguish who the true father would be.[65] Al-Shurūqī added that they and perhaps others also could tell to which tribe a man belongs by scrutiny of his features. I believe this would also be possible in south-west Arabia.

The owners of the *ḥaḍrah*, then, do not possess the ground lying outside the limits of the *ḥaḍrah*, and over which the fish must pass at high tide in order to enter the *ḥaḍrah*. They possess only the actual part of the sea-floor upon which the fish-trap itself stands. This muddy, sandy area extending up to the sea-shore is known as *saṭwah*, *saṭū* meaning sea-mud. The *ḥaḍrahs* are built upon the *saṭwat al-bilād*, i.e. the piece of land (*buq'ah*) belonging to the village. The owner of the fish-trap has the right to stop anyone using the *saṭwah* in any way which might cause detriment to the functioning of the *ḥaḍrah* as a trap for fish. The owner can even sell the land upon which his *ḥaḍrah* stands, but the parcel of land or rather sea-bed sold may only be used for siting a fish-trap. The *ḥaḍrah* owner cannot, for instance, fill the land upon which the *ḥaḍrah* stands with rubble and the like so that it can be utilized as a building site—which many owners nowadays would like to do. Nowadays anyway, this *saṭwah* land is considered as belonging to the Government (*Ḥukūmah*), and, of course, with

[61] cf. *Banāt al-hawā* 'prostitutes' (*zāniyah*). *Wald al-hawā* is the corresponding term for the male.

[62] This is not a word which figures in Lane's *Lexicon*, but the sense can be derived from a classical root.

[63] The Murrah are also encountered north of Ḥaḍramawt, but see 'Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam Qabā'il al-'Arab*, Damascus, 1949.

[64] Quoted by 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn in al-Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, I, 63. Cf. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, Paris, 1861–77, III, 352. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. F. Schwally, Leiden, 1905–9, I, I, 98, refers to the *'arrāf* of Hudhail who was shown children.

[65] This would be the function of the ancient Arabian *qā'if*.

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the exploitation of the off-shore oil, the rulers of all Arab states in the Gulf naturally claim as much of the sea-bed as they can, but it might be that before the sea-bed had any value to persons other than the villagers, custom probably regarded the sea areas in their immediate vicinity as belonging to them; this is to be investigated. It may be observed, however, that at Abu Dhabi the fishing grounds are rented by groups, and they pay an 'anticipated gift' (*shufīyah/shifīyah*) to the Shaikh—*'ushūr*, the Shaikh resolving all their quarrels about the fishing grounds.[66]

There are, however, boundaries of protection to the fish-trap (*ḥudūd ḥimāyah li 'l-ḥaḍrah*), and as will be seen below one defines the actual area of the *ḥaḍrah* itself by such formulas as *ḥudūd ḥaḍrat-ah min al-barr ilā* 'the boundaries of his fish-trap are from the shore to . . .'. While the principle is that any new *ḥaḍrah* must not in any way cut off the movement of the fish to an already existing trap, it appears that there are no fixed distances round the existing *ḥaḍrah* regarded as appertaining to it, for all depends upon the location of the *ḥaḍrah*—which from plate I can be seen to be entirely dependent on the terrain and flow of the tide. This is quite different from the *ḥarīm al-bīr* which is reckoned by some legal authorities as a fixed area extending to as much as 500 *dhirā'* (about 250 yards) on all sides of a well.

On the west of al-Baḥrain the mouth of the *ḥaḍrah* always faces the south. I noticed from the air that some of the traps on this side seem to be right at the end of the shallow marine shelf around al-Baḥrain, next to deep water. In fact, they say, some *ḥaḍrahs* have to be approached by boat.

'Poaching fish in the area of a fish-trap is regarded as a serious offence' according to James Belgrave.[67] This applies both to stealing the fish from inside the trap and preventing the fish from access to it. An offender is treated as an ordinary thief.

A deed of sale

In a deed of sale for a *ḥaḍrah* called Kuraikarah, sited on the flat bed of the sea area pertaining to al-Ḥūrah village of al-Manāmah island, its limits are defined as, 'Bounded on the north by the *ḥaẓrah* of al-Qirainīyah the property of Muḥammad b. 'Amr, on the east by the *ḥaẓrah* of 'Alī al-Dūkhī, on the south by the *ḥaẓrah* of Umm Sirwāl, and on the west by the *ḥaẓrah* of the (stone) breakwater of the beach'.

الحظره المسماة كُرَيْكَرَه الكائنة بسَطْوَة بحر الحُورَة من المَنَامه . . .
حدودها: تحدّها من الشمال حظرة القِرَيْنِيَّة ملك محمد بن عَمْرو، ومن الشرق
حظرة على الدُوخِي، ومن الجنوب حظرة امّ سِرْوَال، ومن الغرب حظرة قَيْد البرّ.

[66] These, of course, are distinct from the *saṭwah* of a village. In al-Baḥrain a fishing-ground is *maḥdaq*, pronounced *mḥadaq* (pl. *maḥādiq*), *ḥadāq* being the act of fishing. Fishing-grounds are called *aqwā'* (sing. *qū'*) if they are coral reefs or stony rocky areas (*'irshān* (pl. *'arīsh*)); al-Quṭāmī speaks of *qū'ah*, the hard rock sea-floor. T. M. Johnstone has also given me *mismacha/mismakah* 'a fishing-ground for *simach*'.

[67] James Belgrave, *Welcome to Bahrain*, Stourbridge, 1957, 67.

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The topographic terms are instructive. *Kuraikarah* is a *hair* (pl. *āt*) [68] *fi 'l-baḥr*, explained to me as rocky ground under the sea, a pearl-bed. The *qaid*, in this case running parallel to the shore (fig. 8), I have rendered as

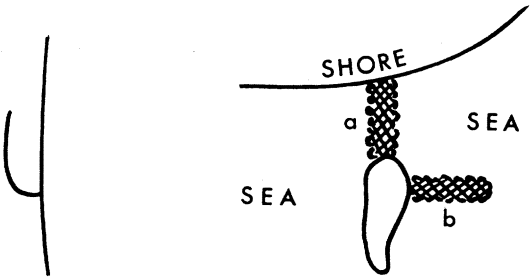

FIG. 8. Stone *qaid* running parallel to the shore.

FIG. 9. a. *Qaid al-barr* to or towards the land.
b. *Qaid al-baḥr* running towards the deep sea (*al-ghazir/ghizir*).

' breakwater '—it is a term used in Ḥaḍramawt also in irrigation systems, perhaps for a dike to prevent flood-water eroding an earth bank. *Qaid* was explained as *nabāwah*,[69] which latter is a *rabwah basīṭah min aḥjār ṣighār*, a simple eminence (in the sea) of small stones—a *ḥidd* is the corresponding thing of sand. Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz draws a distinction between *qaid al-barr* (fig. 9) which runs from a piece of land towards another piece of land, whereas *qaid al-baḥr/qīd il-baḥar* (fig. 9), stretches out from the land in the direction of the deep sea (*al-ghazir*). *Qaid al-qaṣṣār* is an arm or breakwater, extending from the shore to a rock in the sea. A *bulṭ/bilṭ* (pl. *bulūṭ*) is an artificially constructed *qaid* or arm of stones, either to extend the existing land by creating an obstacle which will gather sand (fig. 10), or to break the force of the waves beating on the shore and prevent the sea from damaging the land (fig. 11). In the former

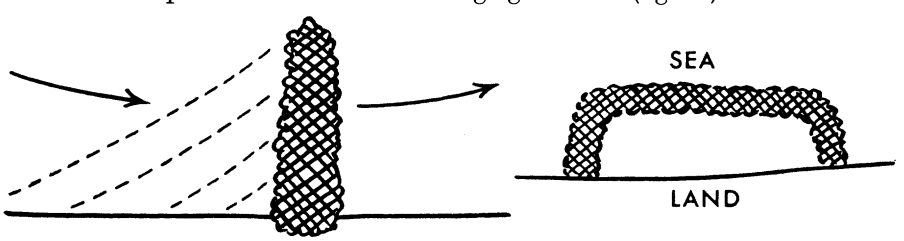

FIG. 10. A *bilṭ* constructed to ' grow land ' on to the shore. The *bilṭ* is formed of layers of stones. At low tide the waves move towards the right (as indicated by the arrows), the water passing through the *bilṭ* and laying down sea-sand and debris of all sorts on the left side of the *bilṭ*.
FIG. 11. A type of *bilṭ* constructed to break the force of the waves, and prevent the sea from damaging the land.

[68] This is a well-known word. Its origin is discussed in a rather superficial note by al-Ḥanafī, op. cit., 403. Rāshid b. Fāḍil Āl Bin 'Alī, *Majāri 'l-hidāyah*, Manāmah, 1341/1922–3, 1, calls it *makān maghāṣ al-lu'lu'*, a pearl-bed.

[69] A *najwah* (pl. *najawāt*) is a *nabāwah fi 'l-baḥr*, an eminence in the sea with shells below the surface, but it projects when the water is shallow. Lorimer, op. cit., 2220, calls the *najwah* a submarine mound surrounded by deep water. He says the *hair* is often known from of old, but the *najwah* is a recent discovery and still bears the name of the founder. I have heard rather similar statements.

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case the *bulṭ* will run down the shore to the sea, and sand and other matter will be piled up by the sea on one side of it. The *bulṭ* is built of layers of stones by the owner of the land.

Kuraikarah was sold to 'Abdullāh b. Khamīs al-Shurūqī, the vendors being no less than five persons, among whom the property was shared as follows:

2 brothers each holding 14 shares	28 shares
2 sisters each holding 7 shares	14 shares
A certain Sharīfah bint Ibrāhīm	6 shares
Total	48 shares

The purchase price was 350 rupees, about £26. The transaction took place in 1362/1943, and the deed bears the seal of al-Shaikh Salmān b. Ḥamad Āl Khalīfah, *Ḥākim al-Baḥrain*, and signatures of the *Mudīr* (presumably of the Land Department, *Dā'irat al-Ṭābū* (Turkish *ṭāpū* ' title-deed, etc.') from which this document was issued), and Sir Charles Belgrave. The *Ṭābū* published the names of the vendors as owners, then after the expiry of an appropriate period it published this deed which abrogates all previous deeds. Witnesses' signatures include the vendor who is the *wakīl*, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī Sālim of al-Manāmah, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Mahdī al-Bannā', a builder of al-Manāmah, and Aḥmad b. Ḥāsim Taitūn, a Shī'ī also of al-Manāmah.

The waqf of a fish-trap

A man may bequeath part of a *ḥaḍrah* to the *awqāf* the income of which will go to pay Qur'ān reciters to recite the Qur'ān in Ramaḍān—my informant on this point was a Sunnī. The other part of the *ḥaḍrah* will go to his children among whom it is distributed in shares, doubtless according to the Islamic law of inheritance. The property is then designated as *mawqūf 'ala 'l-dars wa 'l-shurakā'* ' put in trust for recital of the Qur'ān and the partners '.

The Shī'ah possess a considerable number of *ḥaḍrahs* which have been bequeathed to the *awqāf*, in all about 200. About 10% of the Shī'ah *ḥaḍrahs* held as *awqāf* are owned in partnership, being owned in part by the Shī'ah, in part by the heirs of the original owner known in modern *waqf* documents, as stated, by the term *shurakā'*. The Baḥārnah of al-Baḥrain even have *waqfs* of *ḥaḍrahs* in Qaṭīf in Sa'ūdī Arabia, a district which once formed part of al-Baḥrain in its former wider geographical sense including territories of the mainland, and there are still Shī'ah there. Belgrave [70] reports that certain *Ma'tams* (literally ' places of assembly for mourning or rejoicing '), Shī'ah religious institutions, are wealthy enough to hire reciters from Iraq, Persia, and Qaṭīf, paying them £400 or £500 for the 10 days of Muḥarram. This money is obtained, he implies, from the income of the *awqāf*.

Nowadays *waqf* documents are printed forms replete with alternative

[70] op. cit., 191.

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clauses to suit various contingencies,[71] those inapplicable to the case in point to be deleted, but they do reproduce certain colloquial terms and phrases that were probably standard form in the MS documents preceding the printed contract.

The renting of a *ḥaḍrah* is put up to tender by the Shī'ah Waqf Department whose office is at Bāb al-Baḥrain, and it is announced over the Baḥrain radio that such and such *ḥaḍrahs* are open to tender. In former times this used to be made known by the *wazīr* in the villages, he being a sort of village headman, but nowadays it is done by the *mutawallī* in charge of the *waqf*. The latter, however, is not to be paid the *ḍamān*, i.e. the purchase-money paid by the farmer of the *ḥaḍrah*, but it must go direct to the office of the *awqāf* only. It may be inferred that this measure was taken to eliminate abuses and corruption.[72] My informants added that, previously, the announcement that a *ḥaḍrah* was available for letting or farming was probably made in the mosque on a Friday, but the *wazīr* also had a *majlis* at which the matter might be made known, and presumably the contract transacted. If a *ḥaḍrah* has the misfortune to remain unrented for a whole year one says that it *ḥālat*, i.e. has completed a year (*ḥawl*), as Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz expresses it, ' without luck '.

The action of renting or farming the *ḥaḍrah* is termed *khufar wa ḍamān*. The renter or farmer (*ḍāmin*) *yuḍammin al-ḥaḍrah*, i.e. hires it as a piece of land from the owner (*mālik*) or *waqf* authority in consideration of a stipulated sum. The *ḍāmin* normally constructs the trap, very rarely does the *mālik* do so. Dr. T. M. Johnstone describes the *ḍamān* as a contract between the owner (*mālik/mālish*) and the *baiyār* or fisherman.

A *ḥaḍrah* contract which I examined at the Shī'ah Waqf Office contained the statement '*aqd iyjār al-ḥaḍrah fī saṭwat al-Ḥidd al-musammāh al-Bida'*, *min quffāl al-ghawṣ sanat 1383 ilā quffāl al-ghawṣ sanat 1384* ' the contract for renting the fish-trap in the sea-bed (adjacent and belonging to) al-Ḥidd, known as al-Bida' from the close of the pearl-diving of the year 1383 (8 October 1963) to the close of the pearling season in the year 1384 (October 1964) '.[73] There were two witnesses and signatures to this quite modern agreement. It may be remarked that the renter-farmer was a tribesman (*qabīlī*), *ergo* a Sunnī.

The standard contract, both in the case of palms (*nakhīl*) and fish-traps (*ḥuḍūr*) commences from *awwal al-mūsim*, and goes on to define the period of *iyjār aw ḍamān* ' renting or farming '. It stipulates that a renter-farmer (*ḍāmin*) who hires the fish-trap from the Waqf Department cannot ask for a *simḥān*—defined to me as a *tanzīl qism min al-ḍamān*, rebate of part of the rent—because of the small quantity of fish taken by the trap.

[71] The contract issued by the *Dā'irat al-Awqāf al-Ja'farīyah* is entitled '*Aqd iyjār—ḍamān*, and the standard form I have relates to agricultural properties, most of the regulations being of a Western pattern.

[72] cf. Belgrave, op. cit., 56.

[73] These times are defined each year in a document published by the Baḥrain Courts with the title *I'lān, mūsim al-ghawṣ li-sanat* . . . , of which I have a copy for 1383/1963–4.

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The rent of the fish-trap (*khufar al-ḥaḍrah*) is paid in Baḥrainī dīnārs in three instalments, at the beginning of the season, at mid-season, and at the close of the season. While this is customary for the most part, instalments need not always follow this pattern exactly if the agreement be made differently. The owner (*mālik*) may also receive *idām* of fish in season. A *mukhaffir* is the person who hires or rents, and one says, *Khaffart min 'inda-k* ' I hired from you ' and *Khaffaraw ḥaḍarāt-hum 'alā fulān* ' They hired their fish-traps to So-and-so '.

The renter-farmer farms the fish-trap and supplies the fisherman (*baḥḥār*) with the wherewithal to obtain the palm-*jarīd* with which it is made (*yukhaffir-hā wa-yu'ṭī-h li 'l-jarīd*), taking a share of the profit (*murābaḥah*) [74] from him, i.e. 1%, or 2%, a tenth, or two-tenths, according to what is specified in their agreement. The fisherman brings the fish to the *ḍāmin* and sells it to him—apparently this is in addition to the *murābaḥah* which the renter-farmer receives from him. Should the fisherman fall ill and be unable to pay his debts to the *ḍāmin*, he pays in instalments (*yufaṣṣil* [75] *al-fulūs*) over a number of years, just as is the case with the pearling crew who have received advances from the *nawkhudhā* which they cannot repay.

I have noted that the *ḥaḍrah* is sometimes financed by the *jazzāf/yazzāf*, acting like the *ṭawwāsh* who advances money, etc., to the pearling crew. The *jazzāf* is a vendor of fish—if prosperous he may be considered a fish-merchant, but notwithstanding his profession is not one of which he or anyone in al-Baḥrain would be proud. The *jazzāf* will finance the *ḍāmin* who has no money, to enable him to hire and construct the *ḥaḍrah*. The *ḍāmin*, who in this case is also the *bawwār/baiyār* [76] undertakes to deliver all the catch to the *jazzāf*, and indeed he may only leave apart for the consumption of himself and his family the fish that fetches the lowest price in the market. This process continues until the debt is paid back, when the *ḍāmin* is said to have *istafḍal*, i.e. become able to keep all the catch for himself. Nevertheless the *ḍāmin*, even then, to keep on good terms with the *jazzāf* will often continue to sell his fish to him at a lower price. The debt acknowledged by the *ḍāmin* to the *jazzāf* has added to it a certain percentage which is in effect a species of interest. It is also the custom for the *jazzāf* to supply the *bawwār* with certain provisions during the period of their relationship.

The *bawwār/baiyār* is, properly, the man who *ībārī 'l-ḥaḍrah* (from the verb *barā-hā*), i.e. goes at low tide to the fish-trap (*lammā taṯbur al-māyah*, or, *līn taṯbur al-māyah*) in order to collect the fish in it. His catch on such an occasion is known as *bārah*. The *bawwār* could be a tribesman (*qabīlī*), or indeed of any class, but he would only be a very poor person. He could be the owner of the *ḥaḍrah*, or the *ḍāmin*, or he might be a man hired by either of them.

[74] *Murābaḥah* is well defined in Lane, *Lexicon*.

[75] For the pearlers a *faṣl* is an instalment paid after each *quffāl* (close of season) to discharge a debt or loan.

[76] cf. T. M. Johnstone, *Eastern Arabian dialect studies*, London, 1967, 101. He has suggested that this word might be derived from the Mahri root *b ' r* ' to fish '.

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For his pains the *bawwār* would receive remuneration in one of the following forms :

(*a*) part of the catch (*bārah*), up to the maximum of half of it (*nuṣṣ il-bārah*) ;
(*b*) a daily wage ;
(*c*) a daily wage plus *iydām* (class. *idām*), the latter usually being the fish fetching the lowest prices in the market.

It may be remarked in passing that in the morning people not unnaturally hesitate to purchase the *bārat al-lail* or night catch which would not be so fresh as the morning catch (*al-bārat al-ṣibḥīyah*).

Dr. Johnstone has noted that the *baiyār* is a (prawn) fisherman who takes two-thirds of the product of the fishing, out of which he pays expenses, a third for himself, and a third for the canoe (*hūrī*). If he has three fishermen (*baḥāḥīr*) he takes two-thirds of the catch, the other third going to the owner of the fish-trap, and he will have to pay them from his own two-thirds.

Yet another term in use is *marshī*,[77] defined by Dr. Johnstone as a fisherman who does not receive a share in prawn-fishing, but a fixed annual wage, in 1959 about 1,000 rupees. Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz adds that the *marshī* is the *bawwār* ' persuaded ' to fish for *ribyān* ' prawns '. He receives (1966) an annual wage of up to Baḥrain *dīnārs* 150, apparently twice what he received a few years ago, and he gets also his family's daily *iydām* of fish.

One can take fish from a fisherman operating a *ḥadrah* (though in view of the statement above, perhaps not when he is contracted to sell to a *ḍāmin*). This is fresh fish, known as *ruṭbah*, and he would say, *Kull yawm ana umashshī lak ruṭbah raṭlain, thalāthah* ' Every day I shall bring you fresh fish, two or three pounds '. The agreement would be for a fixed price to be paid per pound of fish, and these *ruṭab* (pl.), *zain shain al-thaman wāḥid* ' good or bad the price is the same '.

All kinds of fish find their way into the *ḥadrah*, though naturally the catch differs according to the season of the year. I. MacIvor [78] listed the commoner fishes caught in it, the correct Arabic of which Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz has supplied for al-Baḥrain, these being—prawns (*ribyān/rubyān*), crabs (*qubqub*), sardines (*'ūm*), the *jwāf/yiwāf*,[79] the *ṣāfī*,[80] the *firyāl*, the *qurqufān*, the *waḥar*,[80] the *sibaiṭī* [81] (or *burṭām/birṭām*), the *sūlī*.[82] The *mutābilu* and *malasānee* which MacIvor gives do not appear to be identifiable.

[77] Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz states that *marshī* is *ism maf'ūl* from *rāshā* (v.n. *mrāshāh*) ' to persuade ', used in al-Baḥrain specially for children.

[78] *Administration Report of the Persian Gulf Political Residency and Muscat Political Agency* for 1880–1, 56. Cf. the list of fish in Lorimer, op. cit., 2308 f., ' Fisheries of the Persian Gulf '.

[79] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bukhalā'*, 102, etc. Cf. al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, trans. Jayakar, London, 1906– , 501, *juwāf* ; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, Cairo, 1311/1893–4, I, 219, *juwāfah*, a poor-quality fish.

[80] These fish-names are also to be found in al-Ḥanafī, op. cit.

[81] Al-Ḥanafī, op. cit., *sibaiṭī* ; Johnstone, op. cit., 204, *ṣbeeṭī* ; Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz, *sbītī*. It is described as ' a large porgy '.

[82] For MacIvor's ' ghulee '.

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When sea-fishing as opposed to trapping, it is only on the rocky sea-floor (*qū'*) that one is likely to catch the best fish such as *shi'rī*, *sūlī*, *ḥāmūr*, *burṭām*, or *sibaiṭī*, etc. The less-favoured fish such as *lukhum* (ray or roach) and *waḥar*, are caught where the sea-floor is sandy. Where there is mud one takes shark or cat-fish, and where *mash'ūrah* seaweed grows only very small fish like *yimyām* and *yimā*, or very poor quality fish like *lazzāq*.

The plummet is used to discover what type of sea-floor lies below the surface; it has a coating of fat to bring up sample particles from the sea-bottom. The sea-bottom may be rocky (*qū'*), sandy (*biyāḍ*), muddy (*ṭīnah*), or seaweed of the *mash'ūrah* type. From the rocky sea-floor the plummet (*bild*) would bring up red colour (*ḥamar*) or red sand, and one would say, *Hādhā ḥamar*, or *Hādhā ḥamar al-qū'*, *hādhā qū'*. *Dachch* is sandy bottom with no coral, etc., no use for fishing. One asks the question, *Niqal al-bild* 'Has the plummet brought up anything?'. To this the answer would be, *Niqal* or *Yanqul*.

According to al-Shurūqī, if the weather is hot the fish do not come very much to the fish-traps.

It may be worth recording that in January 1964 there were what I believe to have been exceptional storms accompanied by severe cold which brought quantities of small fish on to the beaches and even fish of saleable size. Numbers of sea-snakes had been cast up, and about the R.A.F. station on al-Muḥarraq there were two or three turtles on the stretch of beach which were cast ashore in a stupefied condition. The waves had also thrown up much seaweed. The Baḥrainī Arabs who were out collecting fish from the shore or floating dead [83] in the water said they had been killed by the cold. They seemed to have no prejudice against eating fish killed by the storm or cold.

The farming of Ḥaḍrat Bint Kamāl

The information and statistics given here on the fish-trap Ḥaḍrat Bint Kamāl were kindly made available to me by Mr. 'Alī 'Abdullāh al-Salmān of the Shī'ah Waqf Department (*Dā'irat al-Awqāf al-Ja'farīyah*) to whose assistance I am much indebted.[84] This fish-trap has been established *waqf* property for about 40 years, having been bequeathed in part in the year 1346/1927–8.

'Abdullāh al-Shurūqī stated that each fish-trap has its own recognized name (*kull ḥaḍrah lahā ism ma'lūm*) and the rent of a trap would cost, say, 500, 1,000, 2,000 rupees or more. The Bint Kamāl fish-trap brings in a good income because it is a shrimp-trap, and shrimps fetch a high price. *Al-ḥaḍrah li-ṣaid rubyān akthar ijārah* 'The trap for catching shrimps costs more to hire'.

[83] The Zaidī sect of the Shī'ah does not permit that fish found floating on the sea be sold.

[84] Belgrave, op. cit., 56: 'It was at this time (1928) that the Government took an important step by placing the administration of Shia Waqf property, which had been dealt with by the Kadhis, in the hands of an elected council of town and village Shias. This was a popular move as in the past much of the proceeds from the property, gardens, houses, fish-traps and shops, which had been bequeathed by Shias in the past for religious purposes, had not been spent on the objects for which it was dedicated'.

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There are traps specially for shrimps in some parts of al-Baḥrain, notably at Sitrah. They cost more to rent than others, perhaps as much as £1,000 for a single trap for one season. Lorimer [85] says that prawns (*ribyān*) are caught in March–April and October–November with fine triangular hand-nets. I can recall, however, eating them in December and January, and Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz confirms that they are fished all the year round, though the winter prawns are the best and this season is often more abundant.

The following statistics will provide some indication of the annual value of a *ḥaḍrah*.[86] The rent (*ḍamān*), as will be seen, fluctuates between a little over £500 sterling to £1,000. The Shī'ah authorities averred that the tenderer would make at least twice the amount of the *ḍamān*. The *ḍamān* of the Ḥaḍrat Bint Kamāl:

Year		Rupees
1370	commencing 13 October 1950	14,000
1371	2 October 1951	12,300
1372	21 September 1952	11,650
1373	10 September 1953	12,000
1374	30 August 1954	14,550
1375	20 August 1955	10,500
1376	8 August 1956	11,600
1377	29 July 1957	No figure [87]
1378	18 July 1958	10,000
1379	7 July 1959	Income to partners
1380	25 June 1960	7,500
1381	14 June 1961	Income to partners
1382	4 June 1962	8,000

There must without question be some strong reason for the fall in the annual value of the fish-trap to the Shī'ah trustees from a maximum figure of 14,000 to 4,000 rupees. This merits careful investigation. An informant blamed the fishing by foreign companies for prawns in the Persian Gulf, which he said had considerably affected the number of prawns that come to the shores of al-Baḥrain. The quantity had so much diminished, he added, that whereas as much as £3,000 would formerly be paid for the hire of a *ḥaḍrah*, the rent was now very much less. The latter statement is borne out by the statistics quoted above, but no positive proof as to the reason for the fall in the quantity of prawns at al-Baḥrain seems to be forthcoming yet. In 1966 Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz stated that the *ḍamān* could lie anywhere between Baḥrain dīnārs 50–200 per annum.

[85] cf. *Gazetteer*, Appendix E.

[86] Although the Muslim year is used, this in itself would make no appreciable difference to the circumstances.

[87] There is no figure for 1377, commencing 29 July 1957, because, instead of dividing the annual income, the partners (*al-shurakā'*) took the entire income for that year, but received nothing in the year following.

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Taxation

There are no taxes on fish in al-Baḥrain, but Baḥrainīs informed me that in Sa'ūdī Arabia, always referred to as ' al-Mamlakah ', a fifth (*khums*) is taken on fish. The tribes of the Aden littoral in many places used also to take a fifth on products of the sea including fish, and there are still various ways in which taxes are collected on the fishing industry in the coastal sultanates.

Appendix

The star-calendar as used in al-Baḥrain

Like all maritime and agricultural communities of Arabia, the fisher-folk of the Persian Gulf reckon the seasons in accordance with a calendar consisting of 28 stars—just as they do along the southern coast of the peninsula, though, as indeed I have already remarked elsewhere,[88] the actual star-names employed by the peoples of the Persian Gulf and Gulf of Aden would apply to different periods of the year. So in order to understand what a fisherman means when he states that a certain species of fish shoals along the shore at a certain star, or some wind or current is to be expected, it is essential to be acquainted with the star-calendar he uses. Thus one can establish with considerable precision when, for instance, prawns are likely to be plentiful in the fish-traps. While in al-Baḥrain I did not construct an almanac which would supply such data, but with recourse to the star-calendar *infra* it should be a fairly simple matter to do so by interrogating fishermen.

This star-calendar is derived from the Baḥrainī almanac for the year 1382/1962–3, with additions from the Qaṭarī almanac [89] for the following year. These are the names of the stars for the dawn ascension (*ṭāli' al-fajr*), and some of the winds recorded by Dickson [90] are associated with them, or with the seasons of the year.

A mode of reckoning entirely new to me, and requiring investigation, is the calculation of the days of the year commencing from Suhail. In the 1962 Baḥrainī almanac the first day of Suhail falls on 25 August, coinciding with the zodiacal sign Sunbulah, whereas in the 1963 Qaṭarī almanac it falls on 18 August, coinciding with the 25th of the zodiacal sign al-Asad.[91] This day is Firāq Suhail. The preceding day in each case is the 365th day of the old year, but a leap year should of course make it the 366th day. This system of reckoning

[88] cf. my ' Star-calendars and an almanac from south-west Arabia ', *Anthropos*, XLIX, 3–4, 1954, 436. The Shibām star-calendar commences in January with al-Han'ah.

[89] Al-Saiyid 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Hāshimī, *al-Taqwīm al-Baḥrainī li-'ām 1382 hijrīyah* (sic) *1962–1963 m.*, al-Ḥūrah, al-Baḥrain, n.d.; 'Abdullāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī, *al-Taqwīm al-Qaṭarī bi 'l-tawqīt al-'Arabī wa 'l-zawālī li-'ām 1383 hijrī, al-muwāfiq 1963–1964 mīlādī*, al-Dawḥah, Qaṭar, n.d.

[90] op. cit., 249. Dickson does not seem to have understood the system very exactly, and his valuable data are somewhat confused.

[91] In al-Baḥrain I was told that the Maṭla' Suhail (rising of Suhail) falls on 26 August, and that it rises with al-Ṭarf, i.e. Ṭarf al-Asad, which information corresponds with the table *infra*. The Baḥrainī almanac says that after Suhail, from 28 August, the heat begins to diminish a little.

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appears to me to correspond closely to the numbering of the days of the year from *Nairūz* which opens the *Azyab* monsoon in southern Arabia.[92] An informant in al-Mukallā told me recently that nowadays *Nairūz* there falls upon 6 August, equivalent to the 11th of the star Bala'.

The Qaṭarī almanac divides the year into six seasons of two months each : [93]

Wasmī, commencing 1st of al-'Awwā
Shitā', 9th (approximately) of al-Iklīl
Rabī', 5th (approximately) of al-Dhābiḥ
Ṣaif, 1st of al-Mu'akhkhar
Ḥamīm, 9th (approximately) of al-Thuraiyā
Kharīf, 5th (approximately) of al-Nathrah

January	3	الشوله	July	4	الهقعه = الجوزة الأولى [94]
	16	النعايم		17	الهنعه = الجوزاء الثانيه
	29	البلده		30	الذراع = المرزم
February	11	الذابح	August	12	النثره = الكُلَيْبَيْن
	24	بلع		25	الطَرْف = سهيل
March	9	سعد السعود	September	7	الجبهه = الخامسة
	22	الأخبيه		19	الزبرة = السادسة
April	4	المقدّم	October	3	الصرفه = السابعة
	17	المؤخّر		16	العوّى = الوكيذب
	30	الرشا		29	السماك = الوحيمر
May	13	الشرطين	November	11	الغفر
	26	البطين		24	الزبانا
June	8	الثريا	December	7	الاكليل
	21	الدبران		20	القلب

The Qaṭarī almanac states that sea-folk (*ahl al-baḥr*) call al-Dhirā', Mirzam,[95] and al-Haq'ah, al-Jawzā' al-'Ūlā, and al-'Awwā is called Thuraiyā al-Wasm

[92] cf. my *Portuguese*, 174. At Khawr Fakkān I came across a type of calculation used by fishermen which I had not time to examine properly. They say, *Al-darr dashsh fi 'l-Asad* ' The *darr* enters in al-Asad '. This last I assume is the zodiacal sign (*burj*), according to the Qaṭarī almanac, 25 July to 24 August. Suhail in Qaṭar falling on 18 August within that period, I surmise that the *darr* calculation commences from Suhail. I was told that the sardine arrives *fī thalāthīn min al-darr*. Mr J. Wilkinson of Shell has confirmed to me that in Buraimi the *darr* commences from Suhail, adding that the *darr* system which he has studied, is not to be found in Oman proper, but it is used in the Ẓāhirah. My investigations in Socotra seemed to indicate that it was not known there, but I found the Shaḥrā of Ḥallānīyah island of the Kuria Muria group which I visited through the kindness of the High Commissioner, Sir Richard Turnbull, in 1966 use a *darr* system, 12 *darrs* to the year, each of about 30 days. Mr G. Tibbetts has pointed out to me that Ibn Mājid (G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques*, Paris, 1921–8, I, 143b–145b) has composed a poem on the *darr* system. It appears to consist of 10-day periods commencing on the 150th day of Nairūz in the zodiacal sign al-Thawr, i.e. about September. This would appear not to be the Nairūz discussed in my *Portuguese*, but further investigation would be lengthy.

[93] Al-Baḥrain has only four seasons—Ṣaif, 24 June ; Kharīf, 25 September ; Shitā', 23 December ; Rabī', 22 March.

[94] This incorrect spelling is in the original.

[95] Al-Dhirā' is also called Dhirā' al-Asad, falling in the period al-Asad. As I did not register local pronunciation for these names, vocalization is according to the lexicons.

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by the cultivators. Both almanacs give some indications of rains and prevailing winds. The Qaṭarī almanac states that al-Qalb always has 14 days, and in leap years an extra day is added to Sa'd al-Su'ūd.[96]

[96] Since this article was written, Dr. T. M. Johnstone's *Eastern Arabian dialect studies* has appeared, containing in easy systematic transliteration, some of the vocabulary of this study. I have not aimed at consistency between the standard and colloquial forms of Arabic, but have registered it as spoken to me, by persons educated and uneducated. Differences, as one expects, will be apparent in our vowelling according as an individual speaker uses standard or dialectal Arabic, even when a word is not so classical as to figure in the lexicons. If we differ occasionally over consonants—Arab writers themselves often differ in this respect also. While I accept that persons speaking dialectally might employ other vowels than I have recorded I have retained the spellings as I heard them in 1963. I am much indebted to Dr. Johnstone for looking through my article and commenting upon it.

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